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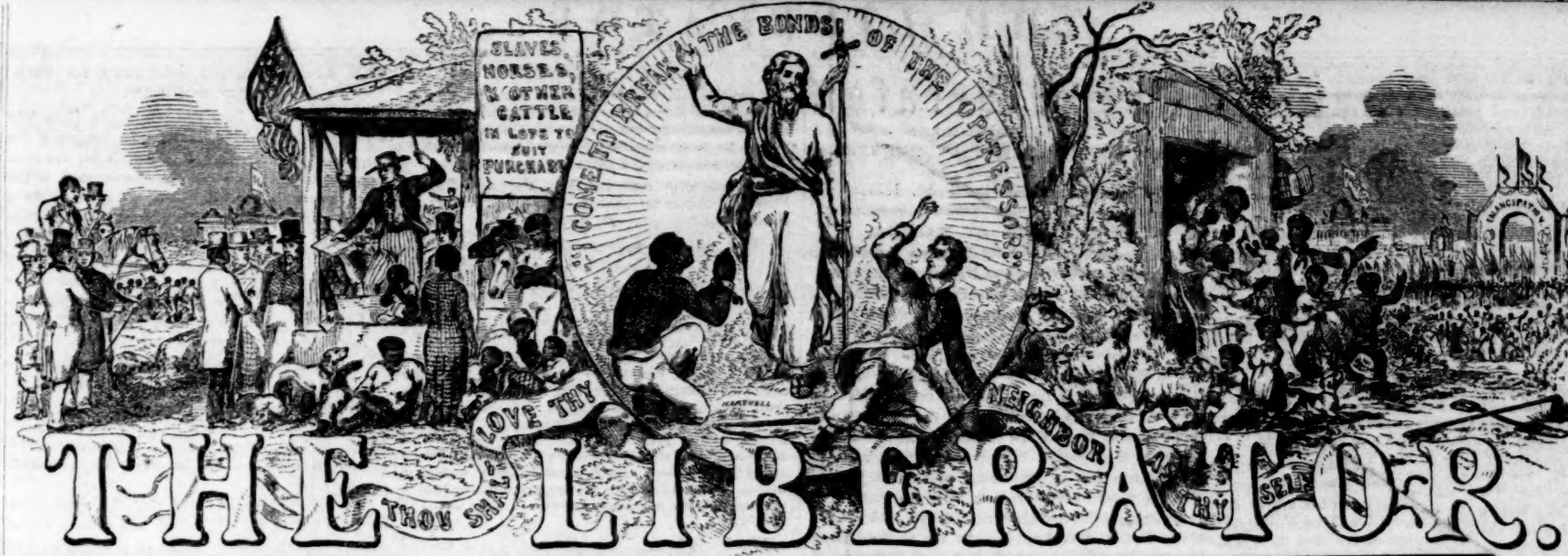
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON &amp; SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 51.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1406.

## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

## BLACK REPUBLICAN COLONY IN VIRGINIA—ITS ORIGIN.

When Eli Thayer first unfolded his scheme to abrogate the Old Dominion, most of our contemporaries of the State press were disposed to treat the matter as an elaborate joke. They regarded it as a very ultimate of crazy fanaticism. As well might we expect an irruption of those fabulous negroes that inhabit the moon, as that a colony of *black life abolitionists*, headed by Mr. Eli Thayer, would dare pitch their tents upon the soil of Virginia. The idea was simply preposterous, and ought to be so, by every sane mind in the Commonwealth. So Mr. Thayer went on writing, now and then, to James Gordon Bennett, explaining the nature of his project, detailing the extent of his operations, and declaring triumphantly of the evidences of success, which greeted his philanthropic exertions. The "Homestead Aid Society," which he organized, millions of once, and the grand scheme was launched upon the sea of experiment, with sanguine cheer and streamer flying. In selecting the site of this colony, the company displayed a commendable degree of discretion. In the valley of Gayandotte, close upon the Ohio border, they ventured to lay the foundation of their important enterprise, so as to have a door of escape always opened in case their visit might be accidentally shortened. We all know how they were welcomed by the citizens of Gayandotte, how the city Eli Thayer addressed the citizens of that city, who, fortunately for him, were as innocent of the purposes of his mission, as was the aboriginal Indian of the design of Cortez. While, however, the primary object of his free labor scheme was discovered, and the history of its origin and progress, with a front piece of its author in his true character, laid before their eyes, the indignation of the people of Cabell county against Eli and his Abolition colony flamed in a promise and a threat of resolutions long and short. Here, we thought, was the "end on 't." The veil was not, and the whole affair stood revealed in its hideous deformity. The armed band had been dispersed, and the wooden monster ejected from the island of Treason. Far from it. Eli was not so intimidated by this terrible demonstration of popular wrath, that he was his only-acting antagonist of the famous William the Testy. He informed the inhabitants in the blandest manner in the world, that they need give themselves no uneasiness on account of his presence; that he had chosen a delightful region in Wayne county as his future abode, and that of his followers, and regarded the hostile meeting as a mere ebullition of chagrin, because Wayne county had been preferred to Cabell by Northern emigrants. And true enough, in the county of Wayne, these Yankee Ishmaelites have founded a new empire, and set down to their credit a new city, and the city of the "Canaan of the West," a short distance from Gayandotte, is the name of their incipient city. Here they are beginning to strengthen their position, and preparing to extend the sphere of their influence. A press has been established and an Abolition journal is printed and circulated throughout the State. Before us is a copy of the first number of the "Canaan of the West," a paper which has the honor of being the first issued in Wayne county. It declares that the "agency of the press" is absolutely necessary in promoting the objects of this colonization scheme, and about its task in a manner which cannot fail to produce the most serious results, unless its issue be suppressed at once. It is a paper, in a single extract, that our readers may see the danger which is lurking within our borders:

"Let every one carefully read Mr. Thayer's last address to the people of this county. In the resolutions passed at that meeting, every one can see for himself the sentiments of the people of Wayne. A great change is visible in the minds of many who were formerly somewhat hostile to the scheme of colonization, and in the tone of the paper. Since the last address by Mr. Thayer, the designs of the enterprise, they are filled with confidence and hope. They believe now that the colony can develop more fully and rapidly through the influence of Mr. Thayer, and that he is the man for the times."

In the extract we have taken from the Richmond Enquirer, assurance is given that the Democracy of Virginia will welcome with a friendly hand, good and valuable citizens coming from other States to the Old Dominion. The characteristic hospitality of the South is not yet extinct. A way with all party animosities, and act in harmony in the accomplishment of a great and noble enterprise, is the motto of the better prejudices existing between men of the North and men of the South, and unite them most firmly in fraternal bonds."

It is but just to the Enquirer to say that the article did not have references whatever to Thayer's "enterprise." His speech at Ceredo, on the 12th Oct., published in full. It contains a narrative of the progress and gradual development of his plan of colonization, interlarded with many anecdotes and remarks of a "popular institution." He says he has with two classes of men among the defenders of slavery:

"The first class contends that the Institution is of Divine origin, and must endure forever. Yet they suspect everything not originated by themselves of being abolition tendencies. What kind of faith in Divine institutions is this? Who is the author of Divine institutions? It is He that sitteth upon the circuit of the heavens, and before Him all the inhabitants of the earth are as grasshoppers. Now, if He has established certain relations between grasshoppers of color and grasshoppers without color, do you suppose a few Yankees can reverse the decrees and sweep the plans of the eternal? No, no, no! Either the Institution is Divine or it is not. If it is, it will stand. If it is not, it will take its chance with other human institutions."

"The other class are 'so certain of the permanency of slavery that they are willing any experiment may be made to test it strength.' We can't imagine where Mr. Eli Thayer could have met with such a class of men as he here describes, and of whom he says:—'Now here is a sublime and consistent faith worthy of great men. I cannot but respect the calm and secure trust of such a wisely calm and wisely secure, whether the institution be Divine or not.' Was ever more delicate? The fool in the fable, who left his purse in the crowd, thought to show his confidence in the universal durability of mankind, is a fit type of this kind of the defenders of slavery."

But we will not pursue the theme at present. Enough has been said to open the eyes of the pro-

ple of Virginia to the villainous machinations of this arch-abolitionist. If any are so simple as to be longer duped by his wiles, we fear they are beyond the reach of all appliances which human ingenuity can command. Their delusion is certainly incurable.—*Richmond South.*

## THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the Charleston, S. C. Mercury.

The report of the Special Committee on such of Gov. Adams's Message as relates to the Slave Trade, has been submitted to the Senate, and the following abstract of it is given in the *Carolinian*:

This report enters at once into the question of slavery and the slave trade, and defends the one whilst advocating the revival of the other. This revival, it is contended, is demanded by the wants of the Southern agricultural States. The Committee—Mr. Mayrck, Chairman—submit for the consideration of the Senate the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the chief and almost entire productive industry of the slaveholding States is agriculture, and to their successful prosecution of which the labor of negro slaves is indispensably necessary.

Resolved, That there is a great and growing deficiency of agricultural labor in the said States, which the natural increase of the slave population is inadequate to supply.

Resolved, That the effect of prohibiting the importation of slaves from abroad is to limit the expansion of the productive industry of the said States, and of the population which that industry sustains, to the ratio of the natural increase of the slave population.

Resolved, That the importation of slaves from abroad would accelerate the development of the agricultural resources of the slaveholding States, and promote their progress in wealth, population and general improvement, and that such importation, carried under proper regulations, would not be inconsistent with the principles of justice and humanity.

Resolved, That the effect of an entire suppression of the African slave trade would be to confine the negroes to their own country, and preclude them from such means of relief from the pressure of a redundant population, as might be afforded by emigration in the only form in which its benefits can be extended to them.

Resolved, That the Act of Congress declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, if it be understood as affirming that it is piracy in the nature of things and in the sense of the Constitution, affirms what is untrue, and inasmuch as it purports and intends to convert into piracy what is not so in the nature of things and in the sense of the Constitution, the said Act is unconstitutional, null and void.

A minority report was made, declaring that "the introduction of barbarians, whether slave or free, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of South Carolina"—&c.

## FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR IN VIRGINIA.

Gov. Wise, in his recent message to the Legislature of Virginia—referring to the free colored people in that State—says—

"But what is to be done with them is the question; and it is difficult to settle it justly and to our satisfaction. Several modes have been proposed. One is to send them, in one exodus, to the non-slaveholding States of the Union. I doubt both the policy and justice of this plan. Its reason assigned is, in a vindictive spirit, to teach abolitionists how long to the virtuous and industrious among them, and the result would be rather to make many missionaries among the free to our institutions and to our people, to harden them against us rather than to convert them to our favor. Besides, they would, on this plan, have to be sent North, to a climate not suited to their habits or natures; and it would be harsh thus to subject them to wholesale dispersion, disease and extinction. Such is their fate in the free States and in cold climates. They are not fit for freedom or frost, unless they are among friends who will provide for them; and slaveholders, at least, are the best friends of the African race, and their climate and location are most kindly to their natures and habits. It would be more humane, and more just to them, to take from them their liberty at once, and sell them wholesale into slavery, without their consent. But the moral sense of our people would revolt at a violation of individual and personal rights like this, and no such usurpation would be tolerated by public sentiment. What then, if they ought not to be sent North to the free States and the tender mercies of fanatics and frost, nor to the South and slavery? The answer is, that we ought to colonize as many as we can in Liberia; to take back under masters as many as are willing to return to the patriarchal protection of slavery; to encourage the virtuous and industrious among them, by seeing that they are compelled to learn valuable trades and arts; and to reform our penal code so as to punish capitally certain of their higher offences; to punish their secondary offences with solitary imprisonment; and to condemn the minor offenders and the idle to labor on the public works. A code of discipline would soon rid us of all the vicious and dissolute, and retain to us the trustworthy, the virtuous and industrious."

## NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

Southern men of all parties are as true to the institution of slavery as was ever knight to his lady, or mother to her child. And we trust that the danger of division in our ranks needs no farther amplification to induce the South, at the next Presidential election, to centre all her strength upon a single candidate. To the Democracy of the North, as Napoleon looked for Grouchy at Waterloo, not so vainly, however, we hope. They were almost overpowered in the last onset. But here and there, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, in Illinois and Indiana, they won the day. And backed by an almost unanimous South, signal victory was achieved, and the Union saved four years more. And it is to those same brave bands of indomitable Democrats, who were driven before the enemy like leaves before the hurricane, throughout the North, except in those States to which we have alluded; it is to that broken host of hero-patriots, we say, we look with an anxious eye in anticipation of the next contest for mastery of the Government. Beaten, but not dismayed in November, they have rallied again, and are already winning victories over the enemy, who so recently routed them.

The Democracy of those States which were overrun by abolitionism in November, claiming to be as they are, an honest portion of the great National party now in power, were selected in their own local defeat, of last fall, by the victory for which they, as well as we, so earnestly fought. And, in remembrance of both, they are encouraged to rally again with renovated vigor.

There are favorable indications of a partial, if not a radical revolution in the North within the next four years, and victory then will secure the South forever.—*Richmond Enquirer.*

## KANSAS A SLAVE STATE.

It is clear that the pro-slavery party have completely outwitted Walker and Stanton, and







is not so strong as Betty's. The English woman's husband would find no legal difficulty in repudiating her in this country; poor Betty's husband would encounter the greatest difficulty in making his escape to join her, in any other of her children.

His escape? Indeed? Then Betty's husband is under restraint! Having committed no crime, he is yet under the power of some one who is able and disposed to prevent him from joining his wife, when the case of her health requires that she should take up her residence in another State! Here, then, in the very case in which the *Courier* has been uttering the above calumnies, it is a slaveholder, not an abolitionist, who interferes with the sacred bond of marriage, and separates husband from wife!

But why talk of the separation which would have resulted if Betty had taken her freedom? This husband and wife were already separated, and had been separated for months, by a power quite irrespective of their wishes or her rights. Who supposes that Betty was asked whether she was willing to leave her husband and children, and go to spend the summer at the North, without even the possibility of a letter passing between them to inform her of his continued health, or him when to expect her home? Who supposes that Betty's husband was asked whether he was willing to lose the aid and solace of his wife's society for an indefinite period, that somebody else might have her to take care of somebody else's children, while his and her children were deprived of their mother? They were already compulsorily separated by the act of a slaveholder, the very person whom the *Courier* falsely asserts to have given Betty a comfortable home!

But let us look at this comfortable home, and see if even while Betty was living in Tennessee, she was living with her husband. Betty was living in the house, not of her husband, but her master. This master owned Betty, according to the theory which the *Courier* is doing its utmost to support. He required and compelled certain services from her, quite irrespective of whether her duties to her husband and children were performed or not. Even after the daily duties required by her owner are done, it does not follow, as a matter of course, that she can use the remainder of the day in enjoying her husband's society, or ministering to his necessities; still less that she can spend the night in his hut, with the temporary comfort of feeding herself at home. She must obtain permission from her owner to go and see her husband. She must ask for a pass. If he has nothing more to say to her, and does not want her society just then for himself, and is in a good humor, he will probably grant it. But it is always in his power to refuse it. And this is the comfortable home, and this the marriage life which the *Courier* is so anxious to preserve to Betty.

Let us see how it is with Betty's husband. He is owned by some one, whose claim upon him is stronger than his duties to his wife and children. His home is perhaps a street's length, perhaps five miles, distant from his wife's home. He also has the opportunity of asking leave, from his owner, to go to see his wife, after having spent the laboring hours of the day in something by which she is not at all to be benefited. In free and Christian countries, the toil of the laborer is sweetened by the thought that it will promote the comfort and the welfare of his wife. Betty's husband cannot work at all for her, except he does so by abiding the ordinary and useful hours of rest.

What is the relation of Betty's husband to the children which are certainly hers, and which he thinks and hopes are his?—though of this such a person, in such circumstances, can never be sure. They belong, as matters of property, control and disposal, to Betty's owner, and, until he pleases to sell them, Betty's husband can have the privilege of seeing them whenever he is lucky enough, after the day's work, to get a pass from his owner; but he has not one of a father's rights in them. He cannot control or regulate one of their movements. He can neither surround them with good, nor seclude them from evil influences. He cannot bring them up in the way they should go, nor teach them either the fear or love of the Lord, nor send them to school, nor teach them at home, nor prevent any excess of brutality with which their owner, or any member of his family, may choose to treat them. This is the family relation which the *Courier* is so anxious to preserve. And even this may be entirely ruptured and destroyed by the choice of either owner, at any moment, to sell either chattel.

It appears, then, that the conjugal relation (so called) of Betty and her (so called) husband is entirely dependent, both for its continued existence, and for the allowance of each part and function included in it, upon the pleasure, perhaps the caprice, of two other persons. And this miserable relation is what the *Courier* wishes to have retained, and desires to designate as marriage.

But, whatever were the limitations which circumscribed Betty's relation to her husband, it is plain that she loved him and her children, and made the fearful sacrifice of deciding to return to a slave State for their sakes; for even the *Courier* has not the impudence to ascribe this decision to any regard for the slaveholder under whose power she had fallen, or any ambition, on her part, of his right to control her movements. It is plain, we admit, that she valued such fragments as were left to her of the relation of wife and mother, and we will now look at the charge made by the *Courier*, that the abolitionists wished her to disregard these; wished her to desert husband and children.

Our woman! she has probably before this time learned, perhaps from the lips of her husband himself, that her return has destroyed almost the only chance of their yet living together in freedom and real marriage. Whatever may be the difficulties of his escaping to join her in Massachusetts, with or without the children, they would be more than doubled by a stamp of the whole family to escape together now, if she had had the wisdom and firmness to seize the blessing of freedom while it was within her reach, she might have found means afterwards to communicate with her husband, and direct him where and how to join her. But her owner's will, no doubt, has hindered the necessary ripening of that seed of truth which has now been implanted in her mind by the abolitionists, and will take care to prevent her from picking and eating the fruit. It is now unlikely that they will have the chance of escape, even separately.

By returning to slavery, she has not only subjected her future children to that miserable condition, but has put it out of her power to help her present children, or her husband. She cannot retain even a moment after some caprice in the head, or some delirium in the pursuit of either master, induces him to send his property to the auction-block or the slave-trader, while she remains with them, any calamity or misfortune which may befall them. If she should see her son brutally beaten, or her daughter ravished, she is utterly powerless to protect them. We hear, now and then, of a white woman at the South being ravished by a negro. These are exceptional cases. It is strange that they are not more frequent, in spite of the terrible vengeance that is sure to follow, when the crime is revealed, as a matter of course, whenever slavery has left them virtue enough to refuse criminal solicitations; and that the Southern churches have deliberately taken away the last hope that remained to the slave of averting such evils, by unanimously deciding that the testimony of slaves shall not be taken against white people in the church, any more than in the courts of law. Thus the slave who suffers the same outrage from a master who is a member of the same church with herself, even if he be the minister of that church, can obtain from it neither redress for herself nor ensure for him. She is a movable, a piece of furniture, and must submit to be moved

wherever the whim of her owner suggests. But those who represent to Betty the folly of again placing herself in that position, and subjecting her future children to it, fall under the displeasure of the *Courier*.

It is hard, under our infamous laws, and under the sway of the infamous Church which backs them, to do anything for an individual slave who yet remains in the house of bondage. But the thorough and hearty devotion of a life to one purpose may do much, even in a case so difficult. If Betty, taking her own freedom when it was offered, had thereupon devoted herself to the task of rescuing her husband and children, she might have succeeded in it; it is even probable that she would have rescued one of these dear ones; and in the effort to do this, she would surely have awakened a sympathy and interest which would have become helpful in the rescue of many a husband, wife and child, and hastened the overthrow of the whole villainous slave system. Now that chance is gone, probably never to return; and the *Courier* blames those whose humanity and good principle offered it to Betty!—C. A. W.

**AN OLD FRIEND WITH A NEW FACE.**

Every body has heard of the inexpediency of carrying coals to Newcastle.

In the minority report of that Committee of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, to which was committed so much of the Governor's message as proposed a revival of the slave trade, the above idea is expressed in different words, with particular application to the State of South Carolina, as follows:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this body, the introduction of barbarians, whether from Africa, from any part of the world, would be injurious to the best interests of the State of South Carolina.

Unfortunately, the majority of the Committee had not intelligence enough to recognize this truth.

C. A. W.

**OUR CAUSE IN NEW JERSEY.**

AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY'S ROOMS, NEW YORK, Dec. 5, 1857.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

For several years past, it has been deemed important that as soon as there might be a tolerable prospect of a hearing, the claims of the Anti-Slavery cause should be presented in the surroundings of New York City. It is comparatively but a brief period since any attempt at anti-slavery labor in this latitude was a signal for mobocratic violence. Later, with commercial influences greatly predominating, there has been little to encourage an appeal in behalf of the slave. In view of the sudden reverse in the currents of commercial prosperity, and, as a consequence, that the people have been somewhat humbled in spirit, it was in our judgment a favorable time to undertake an anti-slavery campaign in this field.

The work, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has been satisfactorily commenced by a series of meetings held in the cities of Newark and Paterson, N. J. The meetings held in Newark were hopeful and encouraging beyond our most sanguine expectation. The audiences were large and intelligent, and for the most part listened with much apparent interest to the presentation of our doctrines. Newark has a population of about sixty thousand, and is indeed a beautiful city. It has very extensive manufacturing interests. At one time, it manufactured and exported a large number of slave whips for the Southern plantations, but that shameful branch of business, I believe, has been nearly if not altogether abandoned. The Rev. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL resides in Newark, and gave to our meeting a cordial welcome and most valuable co-operation, and as kindly extended to us the hospitality of her home.

We had at Paterson good-sized audiences, (though not so large as at Newark,) composed of intelligent and thoughtful people, who gave us a very attentive hearing. Two additional meetings were to be held there to-morrow afternoon and evening, but are unavoidably deferred till a future Sunday. Our friend AARON DUGLASS resides at Paterson, is a devoted and uncompromising abolitionist, and a reader of THE LIBERATOR. We are much indebted for his aid in arranging for the meetings, and for the hospitality and kindness of himself and household.

I suppose there is no place in the country which feels more keenly than Paterson the present depression in business. Out of a population of twenty-five thousand, it is estimated that from eight to ten thousand, thrown out of employment, will require support or aid of the city government during the present winter. There are several extensive establishments for the manufacture of railroad locomotives. I visited one in which are employed ordinarily about twelve hundred men, and now not more than one hundred, and, as I was informed, nearly all the numerous manufacturing establishments of the place are in a similar condition. An early return of business activity is earnestly prayed for.

Next week, we are to visit Broomfield and Morristown, and subsequently Bloomfield, Orange, Plainfield, and other towns in New Jersey.

We have been assisted in our meetings by Rev. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, and PHILIP D. MOORE, who kindly offered their continued co-operation. We are also assured of occasional aid from LUCY STONE, ROWLAND JOHNSON, and Dr. E. D. HUDSON.

My health, though much improved, is not as good as I could desire, and I greatly regret the necessity for increased care in my movements.

AARON M. POWELL.

**THE REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.**—Among the most prominent subjects to come before the incoming State Legislature, is the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, which office he continues to hold, in defiance of the laws of the Commonwealth, while, at the same time, adhering to his commission under the national government, authorizing him to act as agent for enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act, against the moral sentiment of the people of the Commonwealth.

We are glad to learn that blank petitions, in large numbers, have been sent to every section of the State, into every city and nearly every town, to be filled out by the appendage to them of the names of all, without distinction of party, who would like to see preserved intact the fair fame of the Commonwealth, which is now tarnished by the participation of one of her responsible agents in the disgraceful business of slave catching. If that business must be participated in by any citizen of Massachusetts, let it be done by some one who holds no position at her hands. Then the stigma, necessarily attendant upon the transaction, will none of it attach to the Commonwealth.

It is indispensable that the petitions should be filled out and sent into head-quarters, in Boston, ready for presentation to the Legislature, early in January, in order to secure reasonable action thereupon.

We trust that this year the voice of the people already manifested by two Legislatures, will be again thwarted through the unwillingness of the Executive to carry out that clearly and decidedly expressed will of the people of the Commonwealth, on this important matter.—Worcester Sign.

**THE WILL OF THE LATE GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS** was intended to be read at the December term of the Alexandria Circuit (Virginia) Court, and by it he directs that all of his slaves, some three hundred in number, be emancipated within five years, leaving it to his executors to provide funds for removing them from the Commonwealth. These slaves are mostly directly descended from those left to his grandmother by her second husband, George Washington. The families at Arlington (his estate across the river from this city) are mulattoes, some of them very light, but those on his lower Virginia plantation are black enough. Several of the Arlington slaves have, within a few years past, gone North by the underground line. Let 'em go, he used to say, 'a slave that will run away is not worth having.'

**Baker Woodruff**, of Louisiana, lately deceased, by his will liberated all his slaves, numbering about sixty, and left instructions that they should be conveyed to Pennsylvania, and provision made for them for one year. Conscience is at work at the South.

**THE TWENTY-FOURTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,**  
IS NOW OPEN AT  
15 WINTER ST.

The Exhibition was never so exquisite in its artistic features, or so attractive in its choice selection of *petits objets* for the drawing-room, the toilette, the boudoir, the library, as a vast proportion of which are not in commerce.

The admirable little gallery of photography, engraving and English water colors, merits study. There are, besides many fine architectural pieces of other countries, fifty-eight fine photographs of the MONUMENTS OF ROME, by MACPHERSON, the distinguished European artist, unsurpassed in ability and resources, accompanied with descriptive manuscript text by Mrs. JAMESON. There are eight engravings of the *Sistine Chapel*; representations of personages in the life of Moses and the Saviour, by Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Roselli, Perugino, and Ghirlandajo. These are really admirable as works of art. Four engravings after Raphael, from the Camera della Segnatura, at the Vatican. Two water-color drawings of St. Peter and St. Paul, by M. Souleuvre, a French artist of reputation. (The originals were destroyed under Paul IV.) Roman Bronze Inkstands, after Benvenuto Cellini—Aristo's—the Temple of the Sun—the tomb of Cecilia Metella. A beautiful bronze copy of a Pompeian lamp, and a most elegant, exact copy of an ancient Etruscan one. A bronze ring-stand—the original at Pompeii. A bronze bell—a copy of the bell of St. Peter. THIRTY-ONE *preste papier* Marbles (antique) found on the Via Appia—precious because no longer to be found, by the very quarries being lost. They were found, and are given and authenticated by the ABBE AULAMER, a virtuoso of profound research and rare taste and acquirement. A small Bronze Jupiter (the original antique.) Small bas-reliefs of Pius IX. Sets of Roman Pearls, Bracelets and Pins for Coiffure, Scotch Mosaic Studs. A series of Sulphur Medals for Numismatic Students. Invaluable Corals. Beautiful and fashionable Roman Scarves, large and small.

Photographs from the old masters, by the first French artists—from Palma Vecchio, Raphael, Paul Veronese, Correggio, and many others, among which may be mentioned the *Von of the Conci*. Fine photographs of BERNAUX, with two heads of the pastor ADOLPHE MONOD, perfect resemblances, with heads of Hugh Miller, Dr. Livingston, and many others. English water-color Landscapes. A portfolio just received of extraordinary inspiration—all by admired artists, sketched among Lake scenes and on the German Ocean, and made desirable by associations with distinguished individuals. An admirable copy, in oil, of the Infant Shepherdess, by GROSZ, just received for this year's Bazaar. Charming etchings on Doyles of Lake Scenery.

An exquisite selection of FLORENTINE MARBLES, of pure classic taste. Tazas and Vases, carved in *baso relievo*. Varvick Vase in yerd-antique, Sarcophagi, Models of the Monuments of ELORENCE and PUA. Agate and Alabaster Flower-Stands. Statuettes of carved Alabaster and of white and tinted Delft, illustrating the Middle Ages,—the Falmers,—Knight and Lady,—the Red-cross Knight, Royalty, the Emeralds of VICTOR HUGO, *Uncle Tiff*, by Eugene Barham. The Venus de' Medici and the Venus of the Shell.

French *Ebenisterie d'Art*, in small pieces of boudoir and salubrité. Ladies' lace toilettes. Choice Sevres Porcelain. The beautiful Dufrenoy Table Linen—the identical work exhibited in Paris. A new and most beautiful style of boudoir chair-cover, of muslin and lace, brilliantly and delicately tanned. The richest and heaviest Afghan blankets and silk patchwork for bed, table, chair and sofa covers. The splendid Halifax sofa-cover, of the great Grosley Works. Every description of Berlin wool work of rarest beauty. Every possible form of cotton and woollen crochet work. Black velvet brilliantly and artistically embroidered, perfumed Cushions and Cushions, Tabourets and Footstools. Read-work, of a multitude of patterns, for household ornament and use. Children's Dresses. Ladies' dress patterns. An admirable selection of the Mauchline clan Tartan wood work, of a hundred charming little varieties. Figures in Terra Cotta, after the antique. Copies of Etruscan vases.

There are many prints, statuettes, dolls, dresses, &c., which would afford most useful hints for private Theatricals or *Bals costumes*.

THE BOOK TABLE will be supplied with every variety of *De la Rue's beautiful Indian's writing materials*, for elegant gentlemen's Christmas and New Year's presents. Every variety of the choicest Sheffield cutlery,—penknives, scissors, carvers,—of the finest ever sent to this country. Stereoscopic views. Views of Scotland, Westmoreland, the Holy Land. The Nursery Sketch Book, the Nursery Music Book. Tales by MARY HOWITT. (The British) Christian Annual. Penn's 'No Cross no Crown.' Armstrong's Negro's Memorial. Uncle Tom—Scotch edition. The Two Altars, in miniature form. A collection of English tales, not yet republished in this country. Eight volumes of Handel's Oratorios—very valuable edition. Valuable Autographs—a list will be published hereafter. The shavelling Bible and Book of Common Prayer, Lippincott's Philadelphia edition, published under the sanction of the Bishops. New Music. A new edition of 'The flying trunk.'

The true American Gift Book of the Season, THE LIBERTY BELL, will be published on the opening morning, in a fresh style of binding, and containing articles from the American statesman, jurist and philosopher, the English poet, and French savant and philosopher,—all commending righteous Liberty to the world.

Wax Dolls, beautifully dressed, and named after their donors.

There will be a most attractive TOY TABLE, furnished with splendid Dolls, with an immense variety of Children's colored Picture-Books, by English Artists and Grandmothers; and a REFRESHMENT TABLE, and for the latter, further supplies are entertained.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, SARAH SHAW RESSALL, MARY MAY, HELEN E. GARRISON, LOUBA LORING, MARY GRAY CHAPMAN, L. MARIA CHILDS, HENRIETTA SARGENT, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, LYDIA D. PARKER, ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, J. DE PEYSTER HOWE, FRANCIS MARY ROBBINS, ANNA SHAW GREENE.

**SPECIAL ADVERTISEMENT**  
OF THE  
**BOOK TABLE,**  
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,  
December 17, 15 Winter Street.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS. The Play-Fellow, by HARRIET MARTINEAU—comprising The Prince and the Peasant, Feats of the Ford, The Crofton Boys, The Settlers at Home, all in separate volumes. Picture-Books for Children: Aunt Mavor's Series; Mary Merry-Heart's Series; Little Stories of Mary Howitt and Mrs. SHERWOOD. Gilded miniature books, full bound. Gilt-edged miniature stories, among which are the following:—Many Calls; The Two Altars, by Mrs. Stowe; Children's folio picture-book; Imperishable Nursery Scrap Book; Do. Horn Book; Nursery Heroines of France; The Butterfly's Ball; History of our Pets; Tom Thumb's Alphabet; Alphabet of Peace; Puss in Boots; The Lost Lamb.

The Christian Year—a beautifully illustrated annual; St. Werner's Melodist; The Tombs of Dufferine; New Sacred Melodies; Faed's elegantly illustrated Tombs of the Land of Robert Burns; Fifty Almanacs in One; The Prophet Elijah; Picture for Ladies; Biblical Gems; Tables of Criminal Statistics of England and Wales.

LAWRENCE, (K. T.) Nov. 19, 1857. Jenkins, the orator of the late bogus Convention, died at Lecompton, this morning, of *delirium tremens*. Poor Jenkins! with all his faults, he had some good qualities. Ultra proslavery, he was at least, consistent. He was born and reared in South Carolina, and probably never realized the blessed boon of human liberty, or that the government of the people meant more than their right to have slaves.

DEATH OF WM. H. TOPP. Most of our citizens knew and respected Mr. Topp. Although of the proscribed colored race, by his industry, enterprise, taste, intelligence and manly deportment, he had acquired a handsome property, and the confidence and friendship of all who knew him. He has, for several years, been sinking under the encraving influence of consumption, and that disease terminated fatally last night. Mr. Topp leaves a family and a good name behind him. He will be missed by the poor of his race, and by the fleeing fugitives from slavery.—Albany Journal.

Rev. John Pierpont has entered into conjugal relations with Miss Fidler, daughter of the late Dr. 72 years old. Campbellville, N. Y. Mr. P. is 72 years old.

**REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.**  
To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of this Commonwealth, respectfully represent—

That by a law passed May 21, 1855, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, it was declared—

'No person who holds any office under the laws of the United States, which qualifies him to issue any warrant or other process, or to grant any certificate under the acts of Congress named in the 9th section of this act, or to serve the same, shall, at the same time, hold any office of honor, trust or emolument under the laws of this Commonwealth.'

Your petitioners further represent—

That in open defiance of this law, and of the voice of the people of Massachusetts, as expressed (without distinction of party) by the action of two separate Legislatures for its removal, but twice rendered ineoperative by Executive non-concurrence, EDWARD GRELEY LORING, while acting as a Commissioner of the United States, continues to hold the office of Judge of Probate for the county of Suffolk; thus setting an example of contumacious unbecoming a good citizen, and wantonly disregarding the moral convictions of the people of this State as pertaining to the enforcement of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill.

They, therefore, earnestly pray the General Court again to recommend to the Governor and Council, the removal of the said EDWARD GRELEY LORING from the office of Judge of Probate; and thus enforce a wholesome law of the Commonwealth, which it is his declared purpose to disregard, and thereby vindicate the sovereignty of the people of this Commonwealth.

**EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.**

Here is a form of petition for such of the women of Massachusetts to circulate and sign, as understand their rights, and mean to maintain them.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:

Whereas, the women of the State of Massachusetts are disfranchised by the Constitution, solely on account of their sex—

We do respectfully demand for them the right of suffrage; a right which involves all other rights of citizenship, and one that cannot, justly, be withheld, as the following admitted principles of government show:—

First. 'All men are born free and equal.'

Second. 'Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.'

Third. 'Taxation and representation are inseparable.'

We, the undersigned, therefore petition your honorable body to take the necessary steps for a revision of the Constitution, so that all citizens may enjoy equal political rights.

**DEATH OF WILLIAM H. TOPP.**  
NEW YORK, Dec. 14, 1857.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

We have the painful intelligence of the death of our friend WILLIAM H. TOPP, of Albany. After a season of severe physical suffering, he passed from this sphere of life on Friday evening, Dec. 11. He was a devoted philanthropist, a fond husband and parent, a beloved friend, a truly good and noble man. Few there are whose lives have been characterized by a more steadfast devotion to the interests of humanity,—especially to the well-being of the outraged American bondman, and the nominally free, but persecuted and proscribed colored people of this country. But to you who knew him so well, any comment upon his character is unnecessary. He was in his forty-fifth year, and thus early removed from a sphere of great usefulness,—but perhaps to one of still greater importance in his present abode. I mourn his loss from our immediate circle, as a dearly beloved personal friend. Yours, with sincere regard,  
AARON M. POWELL.

This painful intelligence of the death of a beloved friend, whose merits are not exaggerated in the letter of Mr. Powell, comes to us most unexpectedly. Identified by complexion and destiny with the colored race, Mr. Topp was nevertheless one of the most cultivated, gentlemanly and estimable persons in the wide range of our acquaintance. No citizen in Albany was more respected than himself. He was highly circumspect in his walk and conversation, conscientious in all his acts, and as noble as he was modest in his disposition. His is a great loss.—Ed. Lib.

**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**  
Donations.

George L. Stearns, Medford, Mass., \$100 00  
Essex Co. Anti-Slavery Society, by Parker Pillsbury, 10 63  
Mr. Roberts, Danvers, by Parker Pillsbury, 2 00  
Collections in North Danvers, by do. 2 00  
Do. in Leominster, by do. 1 60  
Friends, by Samuel May, Jr., for publishing account, 17 00  
Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, being the proceeds of the Abington Fair, 65 00  
R. H. Ober, Westminster, Mass., for tract fund, 2 00  
FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.  
Boston, Dec. 16, 1857.

**MIDDLESEX COUNTY.**—The annual meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at CONCORD, on Sunday, Dec. 20th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing afternoon and evening, which all are invited to attend who prefer Freedom to Slavery, and who mean to give no aid or comfort to the slaveholder. Officers for ensuing year to be chosen, &c.

WM. LYDIA GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, and probably other speakers, will be present.

WILLIAM WHITING, President.

**STONEHAM.** The Universalist Church in Stoneham will be occupied for an Anti-Slavery meeting, on SUNDAY, Dec. 27.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and probably other speakers, will be present.

**CHARLES SPEAR** will preach in the Unitarian Church, Concord, N. H., next Sunday morning, and in the afternoon in the Universalist Church. Subject: The Home and the Prison.

**MARRIED.**—In Brighton, Thanksgiving evening, Nov. 25, by Rev. Mr. Mason, WILLIAM T. RAYMOND to LOUISA M. HILTON.

**DIED.**—In this city, Dec. 15, ALICE T., daughter of Francis and Eliza Standin, aged 18 years. She bore her suffering with marked resignation, and yielded her earthly life in the triumphs of Christian faith. In Albany, on Friday evening, 11th inst., Mr. WILLIAM H. TOPP, in his 45th year.

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THE next term of this Institution will commence on the first Wednesday in January, 1858, and continue fifteen weeks. For Catalogues, containing further information, please address  
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REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, *for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y.* The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp, says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylolabium. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefited me, as Mrs. S. A. Allen's.'

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REV. D. MORRIS, *Cross River, N. Y.* 'I know of a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylolabium.'

REV. JOS. MCKEE, *N. Y. City.* 'I recommend them.'

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We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the above sufficient to convince the most skeptical that we have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Manhattan streets, exclusively for office, salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures.

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Dec 11



## POETRY.

## A BARGAIN.

Going! going! gone!  
Who bids for the mother's care,  
Who bids for the blue-eyed girl?  
Her skin is fair, and her soft brown hair  
Is guileless of a curl.

The mother clasped her babe  
With an arm that love made strong;  
She heaved no sigh, but her burning eye  
Told of the spirit's wrong.

She gazed on the heartless crowd,  
But no pitying glance she saw,  
For the crushing weight her soul must know  
Was sanctioned by the law.

Going, gentlemen, going!  
The child is worth your bids,  
Here's a bargain to be sold;  
This chubby thing will one day bring  
A pile of yellow gold.

'A dollar a pound,' cries a voice,  
Hoarsely, from out the throng;  
Two, three, five, it calls, and the hammer falls;  
Five dollars, gentlemen, gone!

Five dollars a pound—and his hand,  
Just stretched to grasp the child,  
Is smitten aside by the giant might  
Of the manse mother, wild.

One moment, and the loaded whip  
Is poised above her head,  
Then down, it came on her helpless frame,  
Like a crushing weight of lead.

With a lightning grasp on her kidnapped child  
She falls to the cold, damp ground;  
And the baby is laid on the scales and weighed,  
And sold for five dollars per pound!

And the eye of the sun looks down  
Unmoved on such scenes of sin;  
And the freeman's tongue must be chained and dumb,  
Though his spirit burn within.

O God, for a million of tongues,  
To thunder Freedom's name,  
And to utter a cry which should pierce the sky—  
The indignity cry of shame!

Our eagle's talons are red  
With the reeking blood of the slave,  
And he kindly feels his protecting wings  
O'er the site of Freedom's grave.

How long, O Lord, how long!  
Awake in thy mercy and might,  
And hasten the day which shall open the way  
Of Truth and Justice and Right!

FROM THE N. Y. EVENING POST.  
BORDER RUFFIAN 'PSALM OF LIFE.'

TELL me not, in chanting numbers,  
Earth is made for Liberty,  
For the soul of Freedom slumbers,  
And slaves are not to be free.

Chains are real, stripes are earnest,  
And become the Ethiop's back;  
Free thou art, and free remainest,  
Ne'er was spoken of the Black.

Not enjoyment, nought but sorrow  
Is his destined end or way;  
His to work, that each to-morrow  
Finds us richer than to-day.

Life is short, and time's fleeting,  
And, no longer great nor brave,  
On the negro's back are beating  
Dirges o'er dead Freedom's grave.

In the world's great field of battle,  
In the tirade of life,  
Spare not the dumb, driven cattle,  
Make them bear the brunt and strife.

Trust no slave; they're always stealing,  
Thousands Northward have sped—  
Watch! watch! for they all are feeling  
Heart within, and God overhead.

Lives of blood-hounds all remind us  
We can make our hounds sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Blood-tracks on the sands of time.

Blood-tracks that perhaps another  
Running from his master's chain,  
Some escaped and errant brother,  
Seeing, may run back again!

Let us, then, be up and doing,  
With a heart for any fate,  
Still enslaving, still pursuing,  
Learn to plunder and to prate.

## THE COMING WINTER.

What will the coming winter bring  
For the favored ones of earth?  
Glowing grates, and cheerful hearths,  
And sounds of joyful mirth.

The musical sleigh-bells' merry chime  
Will ring on the frosty air,  
And luxury's mantle will banish cold  
From the great, the rich, the fair.

What will the coming winter bring  
To poverty's lowly home?  
A mournful wail—a grief untold,  
And hunger's fearful moan;

A ragged mantle that will not shield  
The form from the frost-king's breath;  
Tears and sighs, despairing cries,  
And the icy touch of Death.

Charity folds her shining wings,  
And asks (will she ask in vain?)  
Help from the rich for the starving poor,  
That hope may be theirs again.

There are noble, kindly hearts to heed  
The call of her gentle voice;  
They will feel 'tis a blessed thing to give,  
Then go on their way and rejoice.

## Tribute to Rich Men who are Generous in their Life-Time.

Enough of censure; let my humble lays  
Employ one moment in congenial praise.  
Let other pens with pious ardor paint  
The selfish virtues of the cloistered saint;  
In lettered marble let the stranger read  
Of him, who, dying, did a worthy deed,  
And left to charity the cherished store,  
Which, to his sorrow, he could hoard no more.

I venerate the nobler man, who gives  
His generous dollars while the world lives;  
Gives with a heart as liberal as the palms  
That to the needy spread his honored arms;  
Gives with a head whose yet unclouded light  
To worthless objects points the giver's sight;  
Gives with a hand still potent to enforce  
His well-aimed language, and direct its course:

## FAITH.

Blessed are they who see, and yet believe not!  
Yes, blessed are they who look on graves, and still  
Believe none dead; who see proud tyrants ruling,  
And yet believe not in the strength of Evil—  
Blessed are they who see the wandering poor,  
And yet believe not that their God forsakes them;  
And see the blind worm creeping, yet believe not  
That even that is left without a path.

## The Liberator.

## REPLY TO 'JUSTICE.'

ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) Dec. 6, 1857.

DEAR GARRISON:  
IN THE LIBERATOR OF NOV. 23d is a letter animating upon one written by PARKER PILLBURY, giving an account of the Progressive Friends' meeting held at Battle Creek early in October. Without presuming that PARKER PILLBURY or STEPHEN S. FOSTER need any aid in defending them before the public, but seeing no 'Justice' (only as a signature) in the communication referred to, and prompted by the sentiment, 'Honor to whom honor is due,' I feel it my duty to make a few strictures upon 'Justice,' more especially as he has essayed to give the cause of the apparent retrograde movement of anti-slavery in Michigan, and, in my judgment, has shot very wide of the true mark.

First, I attended the meeting referred to in the fall of '55, and can therefore speak from personal knowledge, from my stand-point. I thought then, and still think, that if the disaffection and desertion of one's friends is one of the sorest trials, it costs Mr. Foster 'something' still to be an Abolitionist. As I wish to contrast some parts of 'Justice's' letter, I will quote the third paragraph entire:—

'Three or four years ago, the cause of radical Abolitionism was onward and upward in Michigan, with a bright prospect for the future. In this place, clubs were formed for THE LIBERATOR, BIBLE, &c. In the fall of '55, we were to hold the second anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society at Battle Creek, and among the speakers announced for the occasion was STEPHEN S. FOSTER. A strong prejudice was already existing against him in the minds of a large class of political and other anti-slavery people, who had been induced to give the radical movement a candid hearing, and no pains were spared to allay that prejudice, even at the sacrifice of personal friendship and social intercourse. Under these circumstances, the meeting came off; the largest portion of which was occupied by Stephen in denouncing the above class in the most bitter and abusive terms, such as no one but Stephen could invent; and although no true Abolitionist can maintain the position they occupy, yet, after the special pains taken to get them in to hear, to be especially denounced as more damnable, "and doing more injury to the cause," in proportion as the position they occupied came near to the radical platform, and got on it, was more than they could bear. This last false position, and the offensive manner of presenting it, put the climax on the matter. The meeting broke up in some confusion. The people who had before regarded the radical movement at least with charitable feelings, and had come to the meeting with sincere motives, were now thoroughly disgusted with all Garrisonian Abolitionists, and no argument could mend it.'

'Justice' affirms that 'three or four years ago, the cause of radical Abolitionism was onward and upward in Michigan,' &c. &c. Up to that period, who had been the advocates of 'radical Abolitionism' in Michigan? S. S. and A. K. FOSTER, and JAMES W. WALKER—the legitimate inference from which would be, that whatever the character of Mr. Foster's influence, in '55, 'three or four years previous,' it was not calamitous and 'disgraceful.' The charge that Mr. Foster occupied the 'largest portion' of the time in denouncing those dissenting from him in the most 'bitter and abusive terms,' is a misrepresentation of the facts in the case, that could only have obtained in the 'prejudice' that 'Justice' tells us existed against him. How any one who loves the slave can accuse Stephen S. Foster (a man utterly incapable of doing any person intentional wrong) of being 'abusive,' in manner or spirit, is beyond my comprehension; and so I will come to facts, to wit: Mr. Foster made but two speeches at length, one on the Republican party, by which he converted one of their prominent men, who owned his 'change of heart' publicly, and upon the spot. That was too bad, I know; and just before an election, too, when the political conscience is so tender; but who does not know that such a potent leaven, at work in their midst, would be 'thoroughly disgusting' to even Republicans?

As regards the charge of abuse, while Mr. Foster treated all present at said meeting plainly, I admit, but fairly and honorably, many Republicans abused him shamefully. In the outset, he stated that he had to do with men's positions, not with their motives or intentions. After thus clearly defining, and, under the groundless complaint of personality, etc., repeatedly re-defining his position, his opponents, not being able to answer, but determined to cavil and misunderstand, drove him to say, as the only explanation of their course, that when men would persist, against both entreaty and denial, in the assertion that he was attacking their motives and characters, the reflection was upon themselves, and at the expense of their candor and integrity. A rebuke administered wholly in self-defense, and as richly merited as it was scathing.

Again, 'Justice' admits that 'no true Abolitionist' could occupy their position, but says that after getting them in, at so much expense, with so much reluctance and prejudice on their part, it was unwarrantable to tell them that their position was a bad one, especially in Stephen Foster's way! I fear (at least, I hope) that my friend Mr. Foster will never appreciate such logic. If he had been a Democrat, he would have been a 'hard shell,' since lignum vitae, cast-steel and granite are parts of his constitution; and when, on some warm, early summer day, (when Nature holds carnival,) you find the granite of his own native New Hampshire hills softer and more yielding than when earth is mantled in darkness and the tempest is abroad, then, and not till then, can you expect this MAN, 'into whose soul,' not the 'iron of slavery,' but the steel of liberty, 'has entered,' to make an etiquette of his principles. Boneless men are for Buncombe and Barnum; spinal columns are the pillars of revolution.

One word about the charity and sincerity ('Justice' being witness) of those whom he says came with 'charitable feelings' and 'sincere motives,' and were 'thoroughly disgusted with all Garrisonian Abolitionists.' Why? Because, forsooth, Mr. Foster had abused them! This, I take it, is not the doctrine of 'imputed righteousness,' but of 'imputed condemnation' (disgrace). So much for their charity. I distinctly remember the reply of a prominent Republican, when fairly cornered by Mr. Foster—'After election, we will listen to your philosophy.' Was not that sincere? Alas! the political Ephraims were joined to their idols, and Mr. Foster would not 'let them alone.'

The second speech referred to was on Sunday morning, not upon the Church, but upon the Rev. Mr. Pitkin, a popular and influential clergyman of Battle Creek, who had just returned from the 'St. Louis Synod,' where he had eaten 'Southern dirt' enough to metamorphose him into a sort of animated 'plumb-line,' just fit for some slavholding hierarchy to sound the shoals and depths of perdition with. Mr. Foster's tone and manner were earnest and impressive. It was, in fact, the best speech I ever heard him make; and as I listened, I felt that any man, after dissecting a cradle-plunderer, aye, a pulpit cradle-plunderer, could well afford to enter upon a most 'practical investigation' of Spiritualism and spirit life, by adopting that ancient language—'Now let thy servant depart in peace.'

This brings me to the 'jaded and saddle-worn' back of Spiritualism—I confess to me rather an intangible back; but there is a kind, sacred as the nature they cover, and which have my sympathies; but I suppose, while saddled with 'Justice,' there's no danger of their being galled or 'jaded.' And so I will pass to a consideration of the character and claims of Spiritualism.

First, as to its character. Was not that Kentucky slaveholder a Spiritualist? Who denies it? In fact, since Spiritualists have no Pope, who has any right to deny it? And why not? Does he not believe in the

fact (which is the only test Spiritualism 'proper' or improper makes) that spirits can and do communicate with those still in the form? Does the simple fact, then, that an individual believes this, change his character or his life? It may or it may not; that depends upon conditions; upon affinity—the law that 'like attracts like,'—the basis of social intercourse for all worlds. What is the result? Your Kentucky slaveholder is surrounded by disembodied, but actual Legrees, of different moral dyes, and corresponding with his own mental and spiritual development; and so, not the spirits, but his own spirit and character, determine the kind and quality of the spiritual influx he receives. Just as an honest, benevolent man joins a church, and retains his integrity and kindness, and a mean man retains his meanness, only the more despicable for the cloak he wears; and in either case, the organization, not the 'faith' or belief, is influential over life and character. But never until man learns the sacredness of his fellow-man and of his own nature, in the true 'faith' that his own soul is worthy of his highest reverence, that heaven and hell are within his own consciousness, and elsewhere only as myths, will he be self-reliant and practical, and no longer a mere believer, an abstractionist, looking for that in creeds, and spirits, and coming heaven, which is only to be found embodied in beauty and beatitude away back in the fountain sources of his own being.

'Does Spiritualism necessarily conflict with the Anti-Slavery movement?' asks 'Justice.' This is an important question, and altogether worthy of an impartial and careful consideration. In deciding the point, let us take only the testimony, principles, and facts. Anti-Slavery, or Abolitionism, is one and a definite thing, to wit, opposition to chattel slavery. Spiritualism is a new form of religion, and like the old one, is Protean in its types and phases of fanaticism, as well as of rationalism, and hence is not of character, but always conforming to character, demanding only uniformity of belief in the fact, not the kind of 'spirit intercourse' and teachings; consequently, unlike Anti-Slavery (or Humanitarian) it is not a question of morals or position, but a doctrinal question. What are the facts? Where do the magistrates of Spiritualism stand on the Anti-Slavery question, with those noble exceptions, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, and perhaps a few others? Indeed, have they ever taken any stand, only to refuse to identify themselves with such 'pestilent fellows' as Abolitionists? I am personally acquainted with active and representative Spiritualists, so acknowledged by the ranks,—Republicans at that,—who think 'slavery good enough for riggers.' Even 'Justice' himself admits that many Spiritualists are 'Buchanan Democrats,' and why not? Who else so well fitted to receive the messages, per spiritual telegraph, of James K. Polk and Bully Brooks? What if their position be inconsistent? Spiritualism, reaching men's position alone through their faith, and that faith invariably and inevitably being moulded by the character, does not necessarily, but only incidentally, affect or alter their position. Just precisely as Methodism and Presbyterianism are anti-slavery in one locality and in corresponding organizations, and pro-slavery in other and correlative latitudes and men, and for the same reason,—want of faith in man. While the old religions have sacrificed man to the 'glory of God,' the new will forget him while listening to the spirits.

I am speaking now of the *ism* itself, its sectarian tendency, not of exceptional and fateful believers. But does any one object that true Spiritualism does no such thing? What devotee of slave-breeding and slave-driving Christianity will not claim the same for it? and yet even 'Justice' affirms of the Church, that it is a slavholding Church; and with equal justice I affirm Spiritualism proper, (but not its highest form, for that can only obtain among humanitarians and philanthropists, lovers of the whole race, not careless nor indifferent to the rights of any,) to be pro-slavery. Witness thousands of devoted Spiritualists, and equally devoted man-stealers and woman-whippers at the South. 'But Spiritualism will reform them,' says the sectarian Spiritualist. We have long heard of the reforming, saving, liberating power of evangelical religion, but where are the fruits, in either case? Today, Christian liberty and spiritual salvation are on the auction-block and for sale to the highest bidder. It is time enough for rational men to believe a thing good and valuable, when it proves itself to be so. That many Spiritualists are Abolitionists is a fact; the same is true of many professing Christians. In either case, it demonstrates nothing of the character and tendency of the doctrine itself; that is to be found, not in the exceptions, but in the general rule. The law of growth, of unfolding, in the nature of man, is germinal—*from within, outward*. All right ethics are central, and radiate thence; and not until this order of the moral universe is reversed will the true divine faith, unaided by unswerving fidelity to man-to-man, even inside a black skin—have power to change the moral character and spiritual affections of man. By as natural and absolute a law as causes the spark to ascend and the stone to gravitate to the earth, do right morals, a life true to humanity, purity and spiritualize the 'faith' and aspirations of the human soul. In doing the work, 'good Samaritan' like, man performs the only possible worship. Aye, I would give more for the spirit friends and guardsians of Stephen S. Foster, while he is true to the slave and to humanity, than for all the spirit patrons of all the Republican, negro-hating Spiritualists in the universe. When this to me irrational and absurd claim that many make for Spiritualism, that it is necessarily anti-slavery, and by its superior excellence will abolish the function and mission of Abolitionism, shall obtain my credence, I will then harness 'the cart before my horse,' expecting them to move off in the crisis of a new order.

One word relative to the 'drooping of Anti-Slavery in Michigan,' and I have done. While Spiritualism has had an effect in that direction, I think there is another and more potent cause. The daring aggressions of the Slave Power since 1850 and '51 have drawn men from the moral into a political warfare with the monster Slavery. This cause has been universal in its operation, and will fully account for the falling away from the radical moral movement, not only in Michigan, but throughout the North—where Stephen S. Foster has never been, and consequently never has 'abused' any body. The history of political, especially of Republican Anti-Slavery, commencing with Senator Wilson's threat to hang all Disunionists,—Messrs. Garrison and Phillips, Abby Kelley Foster and Lucretia Mott included,—down to the Minnesota Constitution, has already sealed its doom, and signally justified by its rottenness all the anathemas of Mr. Foster against it. When Spiritualism shall have been thoroughly winnowed, the chaff blown away, the wheat saved, as a valuable auxiliary, the radical Anti-Slavery movement will again lead the van in the conflict for universal liberty.

RICHARD GLAZIER.

## 'JUSTICE' AND S. S. FOSTER.

ADRIAN, Mich., Dec. 5, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:  
IN THE LIBERATOR OF NOV. 20th is a communication signed 'Justice,' reviewing a letter from our friend PARKER PILLBURY, which appeared in a recent number of your paper, giving an account of the annual meeting of the Friends of Human Progress in Battle Creek. Without calling in question the motives of 'Justice,' I must say, that I consider the impression given by Parker that 'Anti-Slavery is dropping under the influence of a false fanaticism, that is gaining away into darkness for spirits to come and do its work,' may be true in a very slight degree. This I regard as a very tame admission of

what I consider a notorious fact. So far as my observation extends, (and I have seen something of the workings of radical anti-slavery in Michigan,) evidence is not wanting to prove the correctness of Parker's position. I believe there are hundreds and thousands of Spiritualists throughout the State, who are doing just what Mr. Pillsbury says they are, 'looking for spirits to do the work' which they, as true Friends of Human Progress, ought to be doing themselves; and the number of these at that meeting was not so very limited as 'Justice' seems to think, nor was the expressed disappointment with regard to the object of the meeting confined to a 'Kentucky slaveholder.' Several others were heard to say that they would not have attended, had they supposed it to be other than a Spiritual Convention, and that they did not want to car so much upon the nigger question, &c.; plainly showing that however 'clear and clean' they might be above the 'creed-bound sectarian Church' (which 'Justice' speaks of,) they were still somewhat allied to that Church in their hostility to the slave and his free friends.

Again, I cannot agree with 'Justice' in attributing the decline of radical anti-slavery in Michigan to the course pursued by STEPHEN S. FOSTER at the Anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society in 1855. That Stephen occupied a considerable portion of the time of the Convention in reviewing the position of the Republican party, and that he exposed their dereliction of duty in a plain and sometimes severe manner, I freely admit; but the assertion that the 'largest portion' of the meeting was occupied by Stephen in denouncing the above-named class in the most bitter and abusive terms, &c., is more than the truth will warrant.

I apprehend that the cause of the 'drooping' spoken of by our friends is to be found elsewhere than in the plain criticisms of the politicians by Stephen S. Foster and others, however severe they may have seemed to be. The specious arguments of the Republican party thinned our ranks of many of the half-converted; Spiritualism, with its ethereal speculations, attracted the attention of others from our movement; while a lack of zeal, mutual confidence and fidelity to the cause of the slave, has, in my opinion, brought us to our present position.

With this view of the subject, I see no occasion for making a scape-goat of Stephen S. Foster, or of any other individual. Truth, plainly spoken, may sound unpleasant, but it will enable the real friends of the slave to avoid much misapprehension.

Yours, truly, J. W.

## ANTI-SLAVERY AND SPIRITUALISM IN MICHIGAN.

DEAR GARRISON:

IN THE LIBERATOR OF NOV. 20, I noticed a criticism on PARKER PILLBURY's letter, published in one of its former numbers, touching the Battle Creek meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, and signed 'Justice.' Now, Mr. Editor, 'Justice' (as he calls himself) seems to think there can be other reasons assigned than those given by Mr. Pillsbury for the indifference manifested by the people of Michigan for the bondman in his chains; and he goes on to intimate that this indifference or dropping off could be traced to the course taken by S. S. FOSTER at the second Anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society.

Now, I think, as far as his exposure of that meeting, and of Mr. Foster's course there is concerned, if the writer had prefixed the word 'In' before 'Justice' to his name, it would have been more appropriate, as from my stand-point I should judge. It will be remembered by those who attended that meeting, that the time and occasion demanded that the Free Soil party should be exposed, and it seemed that S. S. Foster was the man for the occasion; and we saw the effects of his probing on the spot, in one of their own number, (and a stump-speaker at that,) J. T. Mott, who came forward, and openly and boldly, like an honest, intelligent man, proclaimed that he was no longer a Free-soiler, and that the position of that party could not be maintained by a true Abolitionist. It is not to be wondered at that those less intelligent and less conscientious should froth and foam, and try to break up the meeting in confusion—just as increasing the fire under the boiling liquid causes the froth to rise, and sometimes it runs over, as 'Justice' seems to be running over, and as one intimated to me privately, 'he felt like bursting.'

I think it was well that Mr. Pillsbury attended the annual meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, and particularly that he wrote that letter to THE LIBERATOR, so as to give 'Justice' a chance to relieve his mind of what seems to have been resting on it for so many years, in regard to the position of the Free Soil party at that time, (and the same may in truth be said of the position of the Republican party at present,) as more dangerous to the cause of the slave than the Democratic party. I think it was made so plain that no person, save a blind politician or a sectarian bigot, could help seeing it. Yet 'Justice' thinks this position, as taken and advocated by S. S. Foster, was the real cause of the dropping off from the Anti-Slavery movement in Michigan, and he seems to become very positive here, and says 'we do not guess, we know something of these effects.' Now, Mr. Editor, allow me to say (without 'guessing,' either,) that I have reason to know that there is a species of Spiritualism in Michigan (which is by no means unpopular) that does very much stand in the way of the true Anti-Slavery movement of the age. Let me give you one single illustration. In company with two of my neighbors, I attended the first anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, held at Adrian, in 1854. One of them had been for some years quite an Abolitionist, both had contributed something to sustain anti-slavery labor, had interested themselves in getting up anti-slavery meetings, and in various ways gave the cause their helping hand. One of them was a paying subscriber to the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. They were both apparently very much interested in the meeting at Adrian, and the prospect seemed to be that they would be a help to the cause which so much needs the aid of all the good and the true. But how has it been? They attended a Spiritual meeting at Adrian at that time, I believe the first they had ever attended, and pretty soon they became very much interested in that direction. The cause of the slave was made a secondary affair. Spiritualism is the hub of the wheel, say they, around which every thing else must revolve. The Anti-Slavery papers must be discontinued, Spiritual papers must be read; their donations to the Anti-Slavery cause must be withheld, and we must seek to be mediums, through which disembodied spirits may communicate to the children of earth; and such tomfoolery as they have carried on, in connection with some neighbors of the baser sort, in the name of Spiritualism, it never before was my lot to witness. It was but a few weeks ago that the Remonds were at our place, and had a meeting within a few rods of these same individuals, who, before they became immersed in a Spiritualism corresponding to themselves, had manifested so much anti-slavery life, and they could now sit at home at their ease within a few rods of where Mr. Remond was speaking.

Now, Mr. Garrison, if this does not look like dropping off from the Anti-Slavery movement, in consequence of their dropping into Spiritualism, then I should like to know it. And what is true of this immediate neighborhood, I have abundant evidence to satisfy me, is also true of many other parts of Michigan.

In one part of his communication, 'Justice' speaks of Spiritualism as being 'jaded and saddle-worn,' and then again of its rising 'clear and clean above all filth and slime, as no other reform has ever done.' It seems to me that these two statements do not hang together very well.

But I have extended my communication too long, and so I will close, with the hope that we may all unite to carry forward the work we all so need to be done, namely, the elevation of man.

I remain, a friend of human progress, SAMUEL D. MOORE.

Ypsilanti, Dec. 4th, 1857.

## 'JUSTICE' TO ALL PARTIES.

CHERRY VALLEY, Ashland Co. (Ohio), Dec. 5.

DEAR GARRISON:

I am glad to see in THE LIBERATOR OF NOV. 20, the letter of 'Justice' from Michigan, because I have heard the same criticism as to S. S. FOSTER's labors there made privately; and believing them to be erroneous, I am glad to have them brought to the public, in order that they may be refuted and silenced.

It is not my purpose to reply to that letter upon the matter of the facts of the influence of 'Spiritualism' or 'Fosterism' upon Michigan anti-slavery, for I am not conversant with their history, and am in no way implicated in the controversy. I leave that to Pillsbury, Foster, or others, who have been on the ground, and made personal observation of the matter, as I have not. But I am quite sure to learn from 'Justice' that the anti-slavery of Michigan was of so feeble a nature, that the earnest and faithful labors of Foster to purify and elevate it have caused it to 'droop' so much, and cannot but think that his censures must have been too true, and too much needed to expose the false character and sandy foundation of those who wither so immediately at the touch of his thurible spear. And I am a little surprised that 'Justice,' while condemning the Foster position as to those nearest the right platform, but not on it, doing most injury to the cause, as false, deals out the same philosophy to Stephen, whom he eulogizes in one part of his letter, yet charges with having done the cause there the most harm of any person or thing beside.

But this is not to the purpose with which I set down, which was to corroborate Parker Pillsbury's testimony, as to his observations on the results of Spiritualism in Michigan, as I have observed them elsewhere. I have found, in many places, that Anti-Slavery has 'dropped under the blighting influence' of this wild fanaticism. Not that it always takes the form of 'wild fanaticism,' or always exerts a blighting influence, for I know many of the choicest spirits of the age, and of the Anti-Slavery movement, too, who are firm believers in the general facts and philosophy of Spiritualism, and yet are not fanatics, and cannot be made so by this or any thing else, and who receive or extend no blight from this belief. But I say, that the larger part of those whom I have met as decided Spiritualists have appeared to me to have been much blighted by it, and to be mere fanatics in their belief and action under it. If Spiritualism is a reform, and can or will do any good, of itself, or if it can cooperate with or help forward anti-slavery or any other reform, I am as ready as any one can, and will bid it as hearty a God-speed. But I have not so found it. On the other hand, I am led to think that it has generally been useless of itself, and further, has generally thrown a blight over all other reforms and reformers that it has been able to reach. It seems to me to stand to reform in the same relation that the Church does. The Church says, 'You do not need Temperance, Peace, or Anti-Slavery Societies; the influence of the Church and the preaching of its Gospel will redeem and regenerate the world.' And so it would, if it made the specific application; but failing to do it, it becomes linked in with and endorses the very evils it could and should destroy. Hence the need of specific organizations to do its neglected work. Spiritualists say, 'Our movement is of itself capable, and will reform and redeem the world.' Well, perhaps it is and will, but I have found the masses of them just as unwilling to make the specific applications needed as is the Church; hence they embrace among their numbers as many proportionately of the warriors, extortioners, drunkards and slaveholders, as the Church.

'Justice' thinks the number of these classes in Michigan is very limited. Perhaps it is; but my observation shows me, that elsewhere, this faith embraces as freely and fully all classes of the community as does that of the Church; and oftentimes I find these worst and wickedest classes leading and controlling the movement, and all the movers, of the place.

In one city that I visited, and attended on Sunday one of the largest conferences of Spiritualists that I ever attended, I found that the leaders were, in the main, composed of Administration Democrats. One of them was a distiller, and another, who spoke an hour on 'Christian Spiritualism,' with the Bible in his hand, from which he read copious extracts to prove the Christian character of the movement, was a well-known extortioner, and had recently been proven guilty of furnishing money to a knavish lot to buy a large house in a respectable part of the city, and fill it so full of low Irish families as to make it such a nuisance to the wealthy, respectable neighbors that they, in self-defense, should be compelled to purchase the house at an exorbitant price, and then the two parties were to divide the profits!


'Justice' says, 'The more glory for Spiritualism, if it has reached a class that nothing else would.' Yes; and I would say Amen! Hallelujah! if it reaches them, it made them better. But I find it reaching them just as the Church does; it reaches and takes them in, just as they are; and this gives the endorsement of their own character to its wickedness. The Spiritualists whom I have seen have generally been too busy with peeping under the corner of the 'blanket of the dark,' that they think is uplifted a little, in order that they may see the glories beyond the veil that divides this world from the next, to turn their attention at all to the needed reforms of this world. And were it possible for any light to shine under this uplifted corner, and illumine and uplift us, these zealots stand so eagerly round the aperture, gazing their own eyes upon its glory, that they entirely obstruct the rays in their merciful mission, and those beyond have not, as yet, received any benefit.

'Let Anti-Slavery and Spiritualism go hand in hand, as kindred reforms, to redeem and regenerate the world,' says 'Justice.' That sounds well, and could it be done, I would say Amen; but my observation has shown me, that the general result of Spiritualism taking the hand of Anti-Slavery has been, not to lead it nearer the slave, but further from him; usually into some darkened room, to spend its time and energies in listening to the ravishing spiritual music of hand-bells and dinner-horns, or to some lighter room, where round a pine table they could 'hand in hand' join in the highly refractory work of collecting, through a slow and painful process of rapping or tipping, the very valuable information that some departed spirit 'reels well,' 'is happy' and 'contented.' How any reform necessarily results therefrom, I have been unable, after careful scrutiny, to discover.

I bear this testimony, because I feel 'impressed' with my duty to do it; and yet I realize all the dangers of it,—for I have found no sect, political or religious, more bigoted, or sensitive to criticism, or resistive under rebuke, or opposed to rational investigation of its claims, than these Spiritualists have shown themselves to be. Yet, 'if I knew there were many' spiritual 'devils as there are tiles on' the heads of Spiritualists, yet must I go forward and bear the testimony.

J. A. H.

A TERRIBLE CRIME. On the 6th inst., Jack, a slave of one L. L. Shreve, was arraigned before the Police Court of Louisville, on a charge of keeping a school for colored persons. The *Courier* says:—'His master knew that Jack could not write, and did not know that he could read, and we suppose he knew the motions, and that was sufficient.' It being his first offence, he was released without punishment.



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